

THE "CONSPIRACY" CIRCLE

General

1. When the Allies occupied Germany in 1945 they set themselves the primary task of eradicating National Socialism in all its forms and influences. They hoped to achieve this aim by, amongst other things, the arraignment of the main ruling figures of the Third Reich before international tribunal, the indictment of National Socialist organisations, the arrest and internment of minor Nazis according to categories and legislation forbidding the revival of Nazi ideology and institutions in the future. It was hoped that, with the major Nazis either executed or serving long terms of imprisonment, the millions of minor Nazis, no longer subject to their influence, might eventually forget their former loyalties and beliefs and adapt themselves to the role of normal citizens in a new democratic Germany.

2. This long-term aim of the western Allies has found the fullest support from the Federal Government and the leaders of the democratic parties, and there is no doubt that a notable proportion of former minor NSDAP functionaries and members have already assimilated themselves to their new position as law-abiding democratic citizens. The fact must, however, be faced that there are numerous exceptions, who, if not wanting to restore an exact replica of the Third Reich, cannot forget what they consider to be the good principles and positive achievements of the Nazi Regime and dream of the re-establishment of an authoritarian and radically nationalist Reich as the dominant power in Europe. It is these widespread and hitherto politically disorganised elements that are peculiarly susceptible to the influence of the few major ex-Nazis who succeeded in escaping Allied justice.

3. It is the object of this study to show that such a group of former leading Nazis exists in Western Germany at present and that they are plotting covertly to exploit ^{their} influence over the many minor ex-Nazis who are as yet unconverted to democratic ideals, with the aim of ultimately regaining political power for themselves. (The group is, for the sake of convenience, referred to in this paper as the

"Conspirators' Circle").

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4. During the years 1945-49 there was little opposition to the Allied policy of denazifying Western Germany, and by the time the Federal Republic was established in 1949 this policy was regarded as to all intents and purposes completed. All the minor Nazi internees had by now been released and, in the case of the unregenerate, were able to resume their radical nationalist political activities within the framework of the numerous extreme right-wing splinter-parties and movements which were beginning to spring up. Some of the more important ex-internees were officially debarred from political activity, and, together with others who regarded the major democratic parties with disfavour and the minor extreme right-wing groups with contempt, they have come to be known as the "Abschaltende Knechte" (i.e. those who shut out political affiliations in the present circumstances). Since 1949 the ranks of the "Abschaltende" have been gradually swelled by several leading ex-Nazis, who had either been cleared of war crimes by the Allies, had served short denazification sentences, or had successfully remained in hiding ever since the Capitulation. It is natural that the influence of these men, whose names are well-known and respected by their former subordinates, should tend to become predominant amongst the "Abschaltende", and further weight is added to their position by the fact that these elements are being ^{court} wooed not only by the extreme right-wing groups but also by some of the major democratic parties.

5. The first political manifestation of the "Abschaltende Knechte" was the "Bruderschaft" movement, whose aims and tactics formed the pattern for those now being pursued by the "Gauleiters' Circle", i.e. the acquisition, by covert means, of political power for the former ruling caste of the Third Reich. The theorist and founder of the Bruderschaft, ex-SS Obersturmbannführer Alfred FRANK-GRONICH (missing since Oct 31 in the Russian Zone) conceived the plan of a secret association of crypto-Nazis, winning key positions in all the main walks of public life and the political parties through the discreet ^{infiltration} wooing of officials or the infiltration of the movement's own adherents.

6. Several former leaders of the Nazi Regime, who are now prominent in the "Gauleiters' Circle", associated themselves covertly with the Bruderschaft, providing advice and guidance from their own experience.

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Karl KAUFMANN, the former Gauleiter of HAMBURG, presided over the foundation meeting of the Bruderschaft in HAMBURG on 22 Jul 49, when loyalty to the principles of the NSDAP was sworn in circumstances of carefully-guarded secrecy, and KAUFMANN was elected "Reichsmeister" (honorary president) of the "Bruderschaft" (the covert council of six which dictated the organization and plans of the movement). Other leading ex-Nazis concerned were the former Reichsstudentenführer and Gauleiter of SAIZBURG, Dr. Gustav Adolf SCHMIDT (now one of the two main leaders of the "Gauleiters' Circle" - see below), the former NSDAP Gauleiter of VIENNA (1930-33), Alfred "Gerd" FRAUENFELD, and the former Reichsjugendführer Artur AXIMANN, who later (in Autumn 1950) brought the Bruderschaft leaders in touch with Dr. Werner NAUMANN, former State Secretary in the Reich Propaganda Ministry (who has since assumed the leadership of the "Gauleiters' Circle" - see below).

7. The potentialities of the Bruderschaft and of its tactics were manifested in the Autumn of 1949 and Winter of 1949-50, at a time when the existence of the movement was still not known to the general public. Its leaders spread a plausible anti-Communist and pan-European propaganda amongst widespread right-wing and military circles both within Western Germany and abroad, with the result that a number of prominent personalities, especially senior ex-Wehrmacht officers, were attracted to the movement and held private conversations with KAUFMANN and the other Bruderschaft leaders. Amongst these personalities were (ex-Generals) GUERIAN, Hanso von MANTOUFEL, STUMPF and KATHEK, (ex-SS Generals) CHAUSSER, BILKE, STEINKE and KIMM, (ex-Admiral) KRACHENHILF and a circle of former naval officers in HAMBURG.

8. During 1950 and the beginning of 1951 the Bruderschaft was thoroughly exposed in press articles, and partly on this account and partly due to the ineptitude of its most active leaders, FRANK-SCHERKEN and Helmut BUCH-BROICHMAYER, it gradually disintegrated. All the important ex-Wehrmacht personalities hastened to dissociate themselves from it, but the fact that the crypto-Nazi leaders of the movement in the days of its secrecy had found such fertile soil for the sowing of their propaganda amongst these influential representatives of the "Kriegsgeneration" is of a great significance which has not been lost on the "Gauleiters' Circle".

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HAHMANN and SCHMEL

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9. Since the collapse of the Brudersbund during the summer of 1951, the small clique of former high-ranking Nazis associated with it (see para. 6 above) have gradually extended their contacts and influence until they have now developed into the widespread conspiratorial group which can, for convenience, be termed the "Gauleiters' Circle". HAHMANN has emerged with ever-increasing clarity as the main sponsor, mentor and now apparently undisputed leader of the Circle, with SCHMEL as his most intimate colleague directing its activities in HAMBURG and the North.

10. HAHMANN himself is a man of forty-three who quickly rose to prominence under the Third Reich, becoming State-Secretary to GOMBERG in the Reich Propaganda Ministry in 1941 at the age of thirty-two. He remained in the Reich Chancellery bunker with HITLER and GOMBERG until the end, and escaped together with ROMMEL and ALMANN on 2 May 45. We have no knowledge of his whereabouts from that day until the Autumn of 1950, when we learned that he was living in discreet obscurity in DUESSELDORF-BUKINKHOF, but he had apparently spent the intervening years in hiding in the Russian and American zones. Since 1950 HAHMANN has been employed as export manager for the import-export firm of LUCHT, with whose owner, Franz Leo LUCHT, he has been living in DUESSELDORF-BUKINKHOF. HAHMANN was designated in HITLER's testament as GOMBERG's successor in the post of Reich Propaganda Minister and it has become evident that propaganda is his special milieu, a political instrument which he uses with a deft and delicate touch to seduce moderate and democratic circles and with insidious strength to inspire the more extreme nationalists. He is regarded by his associates with respect and some see as an "ice-cold calculator" and realist, but he appears to be driven by an unusual energy which presumably derives from a fanatical political faith and personal ambition.

11. SCHMEL is also a member of the generation of young Nazis who were rising to the highest positions in the Third Reich at the time of its collapse; unlike the "Alter Kämpfer", who were in many cases unintelligent and ill-educated ruffians, SCHMEL and HAHMANN owed their advancement to personal ability. SCHMEL is now forty-five and is a practicing Doctor of Medicine and Director of the HAHMANN Institute.

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After a period of US internment, SCHWEL came to notice again in 1947-50 as a background supporter of the Bruderschaft and an associated underground Nazi circle "Der Bund", which was responsible for the circulation of a subversive leaflet "Der Scheinwerfer". He has never openly associated himself with any of the numerous extreme right-wing groups with which he has been in covert contact since that time, on the grounds that he has not yet settled his denazification process. He has, however, formed his own private political circle in HAMBURG, which he calls the "Herrenklub", consisting entirely of prominent personalities under the Nazi Regime, and also maintains contact with a widespread group of friends and former colleagues, amongst whom he enjoys both respect and popularity (he appears to be ~~more~~ ^{more} human and convivial personality than KATZMAN). Apart from the ex-Gauleiters KUPFMAN and FRAUNKFELD, SCHWEL's most intimate political associates are:

Soon after EARNST appeared in WASHINGTON in August 1959 he

of the Foreign Ministry, and it quickly became evident that he was the
great head of his political advice and guidance. At this time
new ex-servicemen's associations were being formed and were engaged in
widespread recruitment campaigns; the first discussions were
taking place for a fusion of the two strongest associations, the
"Verbandsvereinigter ehemaliger Wehrmachtangehöriger (Dw)" of
ex-Admiral Gottfried HAHN and the radically nationalist "Verband
deutscher Soldaten (VDS)" of ex-General August KERN. HAHN saw in
these developments an opportunity for his own circle to regain an
indirect influence in the political field, since the more nationalist
ex-servicemen's leaders were aiming to create a united soldiers' league
through which the "Kriegsgeneration" could obtain a voice in Federal
politics, especially in matters connected with official rearmament
planning. By the beginning of 1951 HAHN was already assuming the
role of unofficial political adviser to the influential ex-General
Heinz GUNTER and ex-SS Obergruppenführer Paul HANSEN (the senior
surviving officer of the Waffen SS). As early as Jan 21 too, the former
German air ace, ex-Oberst Hans Ulrich HUEL (now the ultra-nationalist
leader of a group of disgraced Nazis in Argentina) when signing a
Bruderschaft appeal to GUNTER, asked HANSEN-BRENNER to inform
HAHN, since he (HUEL) had promised HANSEN not to undertake anything
without consulting him.

13. HAHN's great hope was that GUNTER (who has made many
private statements which show that he shares the "Soldaten's Circle's"
aim of an authoritarian and ultra-nationalist Reich holding the
balance between East and West) would emerge as the leader of the united
soldiers' league and rally the "Kriegsgeneration" and the "Absitz-
stehende Knochen" in a new nationalist opposition movement. For a
time in the Summer of 1951 it appeared as if this hope might be realized,
and many extreme right-wing and ex-servicemen's leaders were acclaiming
GUNTER in the role of a new HINDEBURG. The foundation of the
"Verband Deutscher Soldaten (VDS)" on 9 Sep 51, resulting from a merger
of the Dw and VDS associations, marked the high-water mark of this
trend. HAHN's circle, in collaboration with functionaries of the
NSD in Land North-Rhine/Westphalia (see pages 35-41) ...

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had played a not unimportant role behind the scenes in the negotiations leading to this development. ex-Gesellschaft Johannes FRIESNER, the provisional chairman of the new VDB, was the nucleus of these elements and had received financial support from them for his part in the negotiations. His subsequent inflammatory public utterances soon demonstrated that he was a willing exponent of the GUEKELIAN "Gauleiters' Circle" policy of developing the VDB as an extreme nationalist political pressure-group. He acted, however, too quickly and impulsively, and the violent reactions of moderate ^{opinion} elements both within and outside Germany, coupled with the incapacitation of GUEKELIAN (whose personal intervention had been the main factor in bringing about the foundation of the VDB) through serious illness in the autumn, compelled his resignation in Dec 51.

14. The resignation of FRIESNER, illness of GUEKELIAN and assumption of control by more moderate elements in the VDB provided a setback to NAUMANN's plans. In Dec 51 he received a confidential report on GUEKELIAN's state of health from ex-General Bruno von HAUENFELD (a strong opponent of West German remilitarisation in leading VDB circles), and promptly made plans with SCHUEL and Professor HUBERMAN for the admission of GUEKELIAN to their nursing-home in HAMBURG; these plans, however, did not materialise. The special courier employed by NAUMANN and SCHUEL for the arrangement of these and other covert plans was ex-SS Obersturmbannführer Richard SCHULZE, former adjutant to HITLER.

15. Meanwhile NAUMANN's influence over the ex-SS leaders, who were endeavouring to affiliate the "HIA" Waffen SS association to the VDB, was demonstrated by an incident in Nov 51. HAUER visited NAUMANN at his home in DUESSELDORF and sought his approval for the draft of a press statement (subsequently published) defending the Waffen SS against attacks from the CDU. This draft had been prepared by GULE in consultation with leaders of the FDP in HANNOVER in touch with the "Gauleiters' Circle" (see pages 57-58 notes). At this time also SCHUEL and FRAUENFELD were counting their close links with ex-SS Brigadeführer Otto HERR and the "HIA" leaders in HANNOVER, and FRAUENFELD lent a strong political tone to the "HIA" meetings by announcing anti-Allied sentiment.

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16. One of the main instruments through which the "Kampfbund Circle" have attempted to exert their influence in the ex-servicemen's field has been the Deutsches Soldaten-Blatt (DSB). ^{Newspaper} This weekly paper was first published in Jan 32 under the aegis of (ex-SS Obergruppenführer) Julius SCHUBERT as the organ of the DSB association. It strongly supported the development of a united ex-servicemen's league as a nationalist political pressure-group, and, after the formation of the VDA, became the most widely circulated soldiers' paper throughout and beyond ex-servicemen's circles. From the first, the editorial staff of the DSB contained a preponderance of former members of the Propaganda Ministry and its subordinate units (e.g. Wehrmacht propaganda companies), and of the Reichswehrhochschule (RWH), and most of these have been in more or less intimate contact with the "Kampfbund Circle". The most conspicuous examples are A.W. HELM, ^{DSZ} now chief editor, ^{DSZ} and Dr. Hans KAHN (both ex-ministerialists of the Propaganda Ministry), (ex-SS Standartenführer) Dr. Wilhelm SCHUBERT (ex-RWH), ^{DSZ} Werner WERNER, the advertising manager (former SS Hauptsturmführer), and ex-SSK Obergruppenführer Ernst RICHARD-SCHUBERT. During the second half of 1931 and early 1932 HELM, who was maintaining close touch with KAHN, wrote a series of radically nationalist leading articles in the DSB, which left little doubt as to the political character of the paper. In Jan 32 he privately informed KAHN that his articles had been designed to impede German acceptance of the SCHUBERT Plan and the defense contribution, but, since he regarded these as now inevitable, he intended to "demand the highest price" in German national interests. He requested KAHN's further constant advice and encouragement. In Feb 32 he suggested to KAHN that it was important for the future progress of their cause that KAHN should develop the violently nationalist and pro-Nazi news service of his intimate collaborator Dr. Friedrich-Karl DORFMEYER as a political information service of the highest grade.

17. In the early summer of 1932, however, HELM, evidently under the influence of SCHUBERT's currently pro-Federal Government policy, suddenly changed the tone of his articles and has since taken in a relatively moderate vein in support of the Government's foreign policy.

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Influence in the Political Field

19. When it became clear in the Summer of 1932 that the Verfassungsschutz had failed and was disintegrating, the individual leading an- thesis who had interested themselves in it drew closer together and started to hold regular clandestine meetings to plan their future political activity, apart from their interest in an-servicemen's affairs. The first clear evidence of the existence of the "Gaulleiers Circle" thus became apparent.
20. At this time, Gerd SPINLER, the HILFEN manufacturer and owner of the ultra-nationalist paper "Der Fortschritt", was holding a series of private meetings of many diverse right-wing personalities in the hope of creating a new national opposition movement as the political manifestation of the VHS. To one of these meetings at SPINLER's home at ALTHENBURG on 17/18 Sep 31, leading representatives of the "Gaulleiers Circle" were invited by the organizers, an-SA Obersturmführer and head of the liaison office of the Reichswehrministerium Werner THIEFF (now active in the NSD and one of the inner clique of the "Gaulleiers Circle") and an-SA Obersturmführer (SD) (Fussbauer) Wilhelm GLASER (who has been involved in many extreme right-wing ventures, including the Bruderschaft, and is now general secretary of the Gesellschaft fuer Wehrkunde (GfW), the officially-accepted society for military research). THIEFF invited his close personal friend SCHNEEL to have a private discussion with RAUBACH, GLASER and himself prior to the meeting. He informed SCHNEEL that ARMANN had had certain misgivings about attending, since certain press representatives were to be present, but THIEFF had assured him that the guests had all been carefully selected with regard to their attitude and preparedness for "new policies". Participation in such a meeting, THIEFF continued, could hardly be described as political activity in the sense of the Denationalization Laws, since SCHNEEL, ARMANN and their friends (i.e. the "Gaulleiers Circle") were not active in an organization and nothing was mentioned in the invitations to the effect that anything concrete was later to develop out of this circle.
21. Apart from the "Gaulleiers Circle", the other guests invited to the ALTHENBURG meeting included

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Dr. Hans KROGER and Margarete KROGER of the
North-German-Gesellschaft FFB (see para. 30 below)

the former ambassador Herbert von HILKE and Rudolf RAN

(on-Generals von MANTOUFEL and WERN

Dr. Paul HUNKE of the Deutsche Partei

Dr. Alfred GILKE and Dr. Walter KUHNT of the NSD

Gottfried GIEPMAYR and ex-SS Brigadefuhrer Fritz KERN
of the Deutsche Union (now "Arbeitsgemeinschaft Nationaler
Gruppen (ANG)" - see para. 30 below)

the Federal Government officials Dr. SCHMIDT (ERP Ministry),
Dr. KRAUSE (Ministry of the Interior) and ROHMERT (Economics
Ministry)

and the journalists Klaus KROGER ("Christ und Welt"),
Hans KERN ("Sonntagsblatt"), Erich SCHMIDT ("Fortschritt")
and August HOFFE (NWZ).

22. The organization of the ALTHERRING meeting has been described
in some detail since its conspiratorial character is typical of numerous
subsequent gatherings of the "Gauliters' Circle" and also since it gives
a clear indication of the diverse type of influential elements who are
vulnerable to the Circle's propaganda. No concrete political
organization did in fact emerge from the meeting, and its financial
sponsor SPIELHART has since withdrawn to a great extent from active
politics. KROGER and KERN, on the other hand, have continued and
intensified their association with the elements represented at

ALTHERRING and have thus gained a steadily widening and increasing degree
of influence in right-wing political circles. The pattern of their
activity has followed the following general lines:-

(a) Holding secret meetings of the inner circle of the "Gauliters'

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- (b) The constant dissemination of anti-Semitic propaganda and literature.
- (c) The maintenance of regular touch with the leading extreme right-wing circles abroad, in order to be kept informed as to the relative progress of such groups.
- (d) The planned infiltration of trusted associates into the larger and more moderate right-wing parties, especially the FDP and DVP, and the discreet and calculated cultivation of leading functionaries in these parties.

23. Throughout 1932 it has been apparent that the "Gastfreunde" Circle have given top priority to (d) above. Activities (a), (b) and (c) above can be summarized more briefly.

(a) Secret Meetings of the Inner Circle

24. The chief personalities of SCHULZ's intimate circle in Kassel, the "Herrenklub", have already been mentioned (para. 11 above). KAUMANN is less prone than SCHULZ to take political associates into his confidence. His closest collaborator is (ex-SS Brigadeführer) Paul KILGERMANN, a former official of the SS Wirtschaft- und Verwaltungs-Abteilung (connected with the administration of the concentration camps), who is now employed as adviser to the Wirtschaftvereinigung, Abteilung Eisen und Stahl. KILGERMANN, who appears to "rank" third in the hierarchy of the "Gastfreunde" Circle after KAUMANN and SCHULZ, has many influential contacts in Ruhr industrial circles and also in Egypt, including three members of the unofficial German military mission in CAIRO, Dr. Wilhelm VOSS (leader of the mission), ex-General-major Oskar MUNKEL and an ex-officer named TITENBRÄUER.

25. Other close collaborators of KAUMANN who attend the conferences of the inner elite of the Circle are:

POHRELMANN

TIERST

Heinz KIRPEN (ex-NSDAP Landrat and now part-owner of the Funktal Works at Solingen)

Karl SCHWANE von BRUNN (ex-SS, MAJOR, and former Deutschlandsender commentator)

Wilhelm BRUNN (former Deputy Reichsminister and Chairman of the "German Speaking" Reichstag)

Dr. Edmund ~~WUNDERLICH~~ (former Reich Minister and
Ministerialrat in Hungary - 1944)

Dr. Heinrich ~~WUNDERLICH~~ (ex-NRDF "Alfred Knappe" and
leader of the NS Studentbund in HAMBURG)

and Professor Heinrich ~~WUNDERLICH~~ (ex-NRDF Ministerialrat and
Head of the Foreign Department of the Propaganda
Ministry, and now general secretary of the Deutsche
Forschung und Landeskunde in HAMBURG,
sponsored by the Land Ministry of the Interior).

Friedrich Karl ~~WUNDERLICH~~ (ex-Geheimer of ~~WUNDERLICH~~) is also a close
associate of ~~WUNDERLICH~~, ~~WUNDERLICH~~ and ~~WUNDERLICH~~, and, although he at
present devotes most of his time to business, he has attended some of
the meetings of the inner circle. The other ex-Geheimers Josef ~~WUNDERLICH~~
(~~WUNDERLICH~~-~~WUNDERLICH~~) and Paul ~~WUNDERLICH~~ (~~WUNDERLICH~~-~~WUNDERLICH~~) as well as the former
State-Secretary in the Ministry for the Eastern-Occupied Territories
Hans-Joachim ~~WUNDERLICH~~ are in sporadic contact with the Circle.

24. The secret meetings of the Circle are typified by two major
conferences which they held in Nov 38, on 1-2 Nov in ~~WUNDERLICH~~,
presided over by ~~WUNDERLICH~~, and on 18-19 Nov in HAMBURG, presided over by
~~WUNDERLICH~~. On each occasion ~~WUNDERLICH~~ was responsible for the
organizational arrangements, and a conference of the inner circle of
some eight or ten members (including ~~WUNDERLICH~~, ~~WUNDERLICH~~, ~~WUNDERLICH~~ and
~~WUNDERLICH~~) was followed by a wider meeting of some thirty guests from
different parts of the Federal Republic (all of those so far identified
being ex-Ministers of greater or lesser prominence). In HAMBURG ~~WUNDERLICH~~
gave an address to both the inner circle, who met in the house of ex-
Generalstaatsanwalt ~~WUNDERLICH~~ (see para. 11 above), and the wider meeting,
which was held in a privately-engaged room at the Hotel Continental.
He is believed to have surveyed the current political scene in Western
Germany with special reference to the major right-wing parties and the
Circle's plans for their infiltration (as outlined in para. 14-16
below). At the ~~WUNDERLICH~~ meeting, ~~WUNDERLICH~~ (see para. 15 above) gave
an address outlining his objections to the HANF Agreements, but was
advised beforehand by ~~WUNDERLICH~~ not to include such themes as "the way
to German unity through agreement with Russia", since these only

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represented KERN's opinions and could not be considered as such.

This attitude illustrates KERN's realist and opportunistic view of foreign affairs.

(b) Development of KERN's Propaganda

27. KERN, true to his own background and abilities (see page 20 above), personally guides and supervises the propaganda activities of the "Gaulleiers' Circle" and also exercises an influence in those of other right-wing groups. Although it cannot be said that the Circle possesses its own publication (its leaders have hitherto been careful to avoid creating any coherent political organization in order not to be subject to legal action), KERN has used KERN's "Monatsschrift, Berichte und Informationsdienst (MIB)" as a mouthpiece for his views, and has himself contributed (anonymously) such articles to it as "Die stehen jetzt die ehemaligen Nationalsozialisten?" He has also contributed articles to the international neo-Fascist booklet "Nation Europa", whose editor Arthur KERN (of COBLENZ) accepts his guidance. The financing of this publication has been arranged by KERN, under conditions of the greatest secrecy, acting on behalf of a neo-Fascist circle in PARIS, which includes Jean LAUREN, Guy LAMBERT, Guy MAURICE, Professor Maurice BARBONNE and a certain ALBERTINI. The ultimate source of these funds is not yet known.

28. Other propaganda activities of the "Gaulleiers' Circle", as carried out particularly by KERN and BONFANT, include the organization of lecture tours by well-known personalities of extreme nationalist complexion on behalf of a society known as the "Gesellschaft der Geschichts und Kultur" and the confidential sale of radically nationalist literature to political and industrialist leaders. A member to the Circle who has been engaged on one of these lecture tours is Dr. Bruno Peter ELIOT, one of KERN's emissaries in the negotiations for the Nazi-Soviet Pact in 1939 and for peace talks with the Russian Embassy in STOCKHOLM in 1944. ELIOT has recently written an extensive apologetic for the Nazi Regime entitled "Auch in unser Anteil", designed to demonstrate that Germany's opponents were largely guilty of responsibility for the two World Wars. KERN claimed in May 1944 that the first edition of 8,000 copies of this book was already sold

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out, largely as a result of its private sale by the Nazis to industrialists.

29. RAUHAUS's network of former subordinates in the Reich Propaganda Ministry with whom he retains contact is so widespread and, in some cases, already so well-placed that it could at any time be mobilized by him to influence right-wing political thought on a specific issue. These former subordinates and RUPP journalists include:

HERMANN, SALAT (see para. 11 above), SCHWABE von HERR, Professor HERR (see para. 13 above), ULLICH and HAGEN of the "DEP" (see para. 14 above)

the ex-Gaupropagandaleiter: UHES (Lauenburg-Mecklenburg), HOSTIS (Brandenburg), WLOP (Thuringen), Hermann BROCKMEYER (DUISSELDORF) and Gustav FISCHER (GRAZ)

the former Ministerialdirektoren: Dr. Karl OTT (now RIE State-Secretary in the Niedersachsen Land Ministry of the Interior), Hans FRIEDRICH (now FIP DUISSELDORF), Dr. HERRS (now working with the "Deutsche Zukunft" of the FIP DUISSELDORF), Wolfgang H. WERNE (now personal assistant and confidential adviser to Dr. Friedrich MIDLHAUSE, joint Federal Vice-Chairman of the FIP and Land Chairman in DUISSELDORF) and Eberhard TUBERT (now secretary of the Volkshaus fuer Frieden und Freiheit under the auspices of the Federal Ministry for All-German Affairs)

Gerd HAMEL and the former ADG to GOEBBELS Guenther SCHMACKENBACH (now both influential members of the FIP in HANNOVER)

Hans HERTZ (DEP Kreisleiter in NIENBURG), Guenther d'ALQUEN (former editor of the newspaper "Das Schwarze Korps"),

Dr. Horst WINKLER (now political and economic editor of the Curt L. SCHMIDT Verlag, URM L.D), Kurt VONHENSEL (former chief editor of "Geopolitik" and now director of the VONHENSEL Verlag,

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STURMBAUM, and Erich SCHNEIDER (Secretary of "Freiheitliche Arbeiterbewegung" news agency and now editor of "Der Fortschritt").

(NOTE: The connections with the "Gaulitzers' Circle" of these personalities mentioned above who are now active in the FPA are covered in more detail in pages 35-42 below).

(c) Connections with leaders of extreme right-wing groups

30. The following leaders of extreme right-wing parties and groups have maintained regular contact with the "Gaulitzers' Circle" during the past years:-

Deutsche Gemeinschaft (DG): (ex-Reichstagsabgeordneter) Dr. Gerhard KUNIGER (ex-SS), August KUNIGER, Dr. Rudolf ASCHENAUER, Karl-Heinz PRINOTER (ex-Deutsche Soziale Bewegung) and Oskar KUNIGER (ex-Bund fuer Wahrheit und Recht).

Arbeitsgemeinschaft Nationaler Germanen (ANG): Gottfried GELDMANN (ex-SS Brigadefuehrer and NF Gebietsfuehrer Dr. Karl GELMANN, ex-SS Brigadefuehrer Fritz KUNIG, Dr. Herbert BOWEN (former SS post) and Wilhelm KIEFER (veteran of the KAMP Putsch).

Deutsche Reichspartei (DRP): Bundestagsabgeordneter Adolf von THAMER and (ex-SS Hauptsturmfuehrer) Waldemar SCHNEIDER (proprietor of the ultra-nationalist FLEISCH Verlag in GOTTINGEN, which is another publishing agency subject to MAURMAN's influence).

Bund Heimattreuer Deutscher (BHD): Dr. Fritz SCHULZ (former BHD member of the Niedersachsan Landtag).

31. All the above overt extremist leaders have assiduously courted MAURMAN and SCHULZ in order to win the support of the "Gaulitzers' Circle" for their group, in each case with the idea that it is to become the rallying-point for a major Nationalist Opposition movement. MAURMAN and SCHULZ, for their part, have participated in numerous private discussions with these leaders, and they have often stated their agreement in principle with the notion of a National Opposition Movement. In every case to date, however, they have afterwards

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... convinced themselves that the incompetent, disgraced and publicly discredited politicians concerned had no prospects of achieving success. The close association with them would, therefore, only compromise the future political prospects of the leaders of the "Gauleiters' Circle" themselves.

12. HANSEN and SCHULZ, moreover, are convinced that once they themselves have chosen a suitable political vehicle to rally the "Eriegeneration" behind a National Opposition movement, they will have no difficulty in persuading the numerous minor ex-Nazis at present active in the extreme right-wing splinter groups to follow their lead. That they have good reason for this conviction is shown by the fact, amongst others, that AELF and other supporters of the NS have always reported their activities to SCHULZ and FRATHELD in the manner of enthusiastic pupils reporting to their masters, and that GIERMAYR and KIEFER of the ANS have both recently assured HANSEN that he had only to give them a lead and they and their associates would follow. GIERMAYR proposed that HANSEN and the "Gauleiters' Circle" should act as the planning "General Staff" of the National Opposition movement, with himself and the other right-wing extremist groups in the role of the front-line campaigners similar to the "Alte Kämpfer" of the NSDAP.

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33. In spite of MAHMANN's contempt for the political views of GRIMMANN, the role of a planning "General Staff" as the source of radical-nationalist activities is in fact very much that of the "Gaulleiers' Circle" savings for themselves. In August 52 MAHMANN stated privately that he advocated the creation of "political leadership cadres" before making any public appeal for mass support. Such cadres already exist in the various manifestations of the "Gaulleiers' Circle". In Oct 52 MAHMANN also informed LONGBACK (see para 21 above) that he advocated holding in check "the first wave" of a Nazi revival (a reference to the NSDAP and extreme right-wing splinter-groups, which the Circle regard as a "Kurzschluss" or short-circuit), while awaiting the critical period ("Kernzeit") which had not yet arrived. The "second wave", however, (i.e. the "Gaulleiers' Circle" and its associates) should infiltrate anywhere and everywhere in the centre and right-wing political field. LONGBACK and SCHMEL commented that they shared these views.

(4) Infiltration of the Moderate Right-Wing Parties

34. As reported in paras 19-25 above, the leaders of the "Gaulleiers' Circle" were already coming into contact with influential members of the FDP, Deutsche Partei and NSD in Sep 51 within the framework of SPINDLER's meetings at ALIBERG. Their connections with the DP have remained confined to one or two individual and occasional contacts, e.g. with the now member of the DP executive, Dr. Albert REICHENHILF, SCHEEL's professor as Reichsbauwirtschaftler. The tenuous nature of the Circle's links to the DP are probably explained by the fact that they have little in common with the conservative and federalist elements who dominate the party in its stronghold in Niedersachsen. The Circle have, however, made more determined and successful efforts to infiltrate the FDP and, especially recently, the NSD.

(1) The FDP

35. MAHMANN's first major success in his policy of infiltration of the FDP was the appointment of his intimate associate and former subordinate, Wolfgang REICHENHILF, as personal assistant and confidential adviser to Dr. Friedrich MEINKEHAUSEN, Chairman of the North-German/Lower Saxony Landparlament and now Joint Federal Representative of the

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Throughout 1950, DIEBOLD, who was an SS Standartenführer, Compropaganda-leiter DANZIG-Westpreussen and (Jan-Nov 52) head of the Broadcasting Division of the Reich Propaganda Ministry, has been in constant conspiratorial contact with MAIMANN, passing him confidential information on FDP matters, referring to him for advice and arranging with him for other prominent ex-Nazis to be given functions in the party. An example of this occurred in Spring 52 when MAIMANN recommended a former Landrat LINKE to DIEBOLD, who in July 52 succeeded in persuading MIEDELHAUVE to employ him as a second personal assistant.

36. Also early in 1952 MAIMANN was in close touch with Wolfgang DÖRRING, FDP Landesgeschäftsführer in North-Rhine/Westphalia, and ex-NJ Gebietsführer Siegfried ZOELMANN, who had been the foreign press expert in the Reich Jugendführung. Both these FDP functionaries had attended a meeting of the Bruderschaft in BIELEFELD in early 1951, at which they stated privately that they had joined a recognized democratic party merely because they considered that this was the best means by which the ex-Nazis could return to power. In early 1952 ZOELMANN became chief editor of the new newspaper of the DUESSELDORF FDP "Die Deutsche Zukunft", and he and Dr. DÖRRING, former Ministerialdirektor for music in the Reich Propaganda Ministry, consulted MAIMANN on personnel appointments to the editorial staff. MAIMANN suggested the names of two ex-Propaganda Ministry officials, one of them being the ex-Compropagandaleiter of Luxemburg-Moselland, Albert UNGER.

37. The foundation of the militantly right-wing nationalist "Die Deutsche Zukunft", run by ex-Nazis collaborating with the "Gauleiters' Circle", marked the beginning of the pronounced nationalist course pursued during the past year by the right-wing of the FDP under MIEDELHAUVE's leadership. This course was significantly publicized in the German press on 8 May 52, two days after a series of private meetings in HANNOVER between MAIMANN, SCHMEL and KAUFMANN on behalf of the "Gauleiters' Circle" and leaders of the FDP Landesverband Niedersachsen, notably the Parteigeschäftsführer, ex-NJ Gebietsführer Horst HILGEN, and the new Landesgeschäftsführer, Herbert FREIBURG (also a former NJ leader). The main meeting took place at the Hotel...

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SCHNEEL arranged that a private room in the name of "HILLIPS" was engaged at the hotel by his friend ex-SS Colonel-Businessmaster and SEDAP Bezirksleiter Hans Hendrik NEUMANN of the PHILLIPS Valve Works. SCHNEEL explained to NEUMANN that the hotel room in which they had had their previous meeting of this sort had been insecure since on one side it was only protected by a curtain. Other members of the "Gauleiters' Circle" who attended this series of meetings were Dr. BECK (see para 11 above), Professor HUCKE and SCHWABE van BECKE (see para 25 above).

38. Since these meetings, MAIDMAN has been endeavouring with some degree of success to develop his influence at the MIDDLEHAUVE - Artur STEINER (FDP Land Chairman in NIEDERRHEIN) level in the FDP, and has consequently had less contact with ZOLLMANN, DORNING and the other more junior party functionaries. At the beginning of June 52, MUEBORN arranged a meeting between MAIDMAN and STEINER, which he considered would be greatly in the interests of both parties. At the same time he requested MAIDMAN to supply him with names of suitable journalists to fill a vacancy as FDP press chief in HANNOVER. The MAIDMAN/STEINER meeting was arranged for 11 Jun 52 at MAIDMAN's house, since MAIDMAN did not wish to be seen in BONN. STEINER afterwards stated privately that he was in contact with several former high-ranking Nazis, including MAIDMAN, KAUFMAN and WERBER, with a view to forming a nationalist opposition party, he hoped by Sep 52. This party would comprise the right wings of the FDP and DP and the smaller extreme right-wing groups and would oppose the Chancellor's "one-sided dependence on the East." Although no such party has in fact yet been formed, negotiations have continued for a similar grouping of forces behind the "Nationale Sammlung" sponsored by MIDDLEHAUVE, and STEINER has remained an unreliable ally of the Federal Government on the issue of the BONN Agreements.

39. On 25 Jul 52 MIDDLEHAUVE proposed adoption of the "Dortmunder Programm" to the Land Congress of the FDP in North-Rhine/Westphalia, and it was accepted. A week earlier the draft of the programme was submitted to MAIDMAN by STEINER. STEINER reported to MAIDMAN that

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his own position in the FDP was becoming much stronger and that he had been given the important task of organizing the training of FDP speakers at the various Land Headquarters of the party. They agreed to consult each other regarding the planning of this training.

40. In Sep 52 the intention of the FDP Landverband in North-Rhine/Westphalia to organize a new "Nationales Sammlung" of all political forces to the right of the CDU, with the "Deutsches Programm" as its electoral platform, was publicly proclaimed. The sponsors of the new movement are still continuing their endeavors to persuade the leadership of the FDP to adopt their policy, and they achieved a limited success at the Federal Congress of the party at BAD REG in Nov 52 by the election of MÜLLERHAUVE to the new post of joint Federal Vice-Chairman of the FDP. NAUMANN and the "Gauleiters' Circle" are supporting the "Nationales Sammlung" from behind the scenes, as being a highly suitable vehicle for their infiltration, especially since the FDP right-wing have declared their intention to readmit ex-Nazis to political activity within their ranks. For this purpose NAUMANN's chief collaborators in the FDP are DIWERTGE and Dr. Ernst ACHENBACH (see para 21 above), who in his influential position of Chairman of the party's Foreign Affairs Committee and also of the Committee for a General Amnesty of War Criminals is well placed to further the interests of the "Gauleiters' Circle". In the former capacity ACHENBACH, having himself been a diplomat during the Nazi period, has good connections with the Federal Foreign Office and other Ministries; (in Nov 52 he promised NAUMANN to do his best to obtain a German visa for the latter's friend SKORZENY, at present exiled in MADRID). In the latter capacity, ACHENBACH has installed the former Reich Plenipotentiary in Denmark, Dr. Werner HEST, as his chief assistant. ACHENBACH is also the lawyer and friend of the RUHR industrialist Hugo STICKES, with whom NAUMANN has recently developed good relations.

41. NAUMANN has recently established direct contact with MÜLLERHAUVE himself and also with Dr. Erich KREMER, member of the FDP Federal Committee and leading protagonist of the ex-servicemen's and war criminals' cause in the Bundestag. KREMER consulted NAUMANN at the beginning of Nov 52 before meeting ex-SS Generals HADWIGER and GILL.

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42. Further indications of the "Gauliga" Circle's success in the FDP and also of the NIK (see pages 43-45 below) in the local government elections on 9 Nov 52, when a number of prominent ex-Nazi, including associates of the Circle, were elected on the FDP and NIK lists. In MUEHLKIM/Fahr, for instance, Ernst von WEDDELSTEDT (former official in the Reich Ministry of the Interior and Landeshauptmann of East Prussia, later Freikorps leader in the NSKK, and now a member of MADWARTH's intimate circle), was elected on the direct list of the FDP. He asked ZUSCHMANN to inform MADWARTH of his success and of the many possibilities it opened up. In general, the infiltration policy appears to be bearing fruit, and ZUSCHMANN referred in a recent private conversation to "our favourable prospects, especially in the FDP field" as a result of MADWARTH's recent discussions.

(11) The BRG (now "Gesamtdeutscher Block")

43. The "Gauleiters' Circle" have been developing an increasing interest in the BHE, especially in recent weeks, since its relative success in the local government elections of 9 Nov 52. KUCHENMANN and his friends voted for the BHE in DUESSELDORF, which he claimed had "many of our men" in it. One of these is TRIBET (see para 2, above), who stood, unsuccessfully, as a BHE candidate in DUESSELDORF.

44. During end Nov and early Dec 52 the Circle have arranged two private meetings with the Federal Chairman of the NSD, Waldemar KRAFT (himself a former SS Hauptsturmfuehrer). KAUFMANN, after visiting NAUMANN in DUESSELDORF on 22 Nov 52, arranged to meet KRAFT in KIEL on 28 Nov 52. NAUMANN asked him to make a personal report to SCHMEL on this new move, adding that he was very anxious to obtain SCHMEL's views on it.

45. The meeting in KIEL was evidently not a failure, since a further conference-conference with KRAFT was arranged in DUESSELDORF for 12 Dec 52, and was attended by KAUFMANN, KIEGERMANN and NARMANN. The Circle took elaborate precautions to ensure the secrecy of this meeting, and THURMANN stated privately that none of the local KKK functionaries in DUESSELDORF knew of it, except PEIERSEN, who had informed him that KRAFT was to have discussions with leading industrialists.

46. The Circle are evidently endeavouring to persuade KRAFT to adopt a more extreme right-wing course for the BHE in line with the "Nationalsozialismus" policy of JOSEPH BAUER. If they are successful, a major radical nationalist political force, permeated at all levels with ex-Nazis, will have been created, and it can be expected that such a force would have little difficulty in rallying the right-wing extremist splinter-parties and groups behind it. Such a force would also be highly susceptible to the influence of a covert "political leadership cadre" of the leading ex-Nazis, i.e. the "Gauleiters" Circle.

SUMMARY

47. It has been shown in the fore-going paras that a covert and conspiratorial group of leading ex-Nazis exists to-day in western Germany. This group (the "Gauleiters" Circle), have for many months been plotting to exploit their influence over the numerous minor ex-Nazis who are as yet unconverted to democratic ideals, with the aim of ultimately regaining political power for themselves.

48. The dissolution of the BHE and energetic governmental action against other overt neo-Nazi splinter parties, such as the Deutsche Gemeinschaft, have shown the rank and file of the ex-Nazis and other members of the "Kriegsgeneration" that a national socialist mass party offers little prospect of success in present circumstances in the Federal Republic.

The tactics of the "Gauleiters" Circle, involving the infiltration of existing moderate right-wing parties and influencing their policy in radical nationalist directions from behind the scenes, therefore premises the best hopes of an ultimate revival of an authoritarian Reich.

49. HANSMANN, and to a lesser extent SCHULZ, ZIMMERMANN and BAUMANN, are the dominant figures in the "Gauleiters" Circle, which is still, with intent, an ill-defined and unorganized political faction. Its role, however, is to act as a "political leadership cadre", guiding and influencing the course of right-wing nationalism from the background. Its chief weapon is propaganda, skilfully supervised by the

... HANSMANN, through the medium of a ... of his former ... and ...

TOP SECRET

50. Viewed as a segment of the whole West German political scene, crypto-fascism, as exemplified by the "Caulstran" Circle, is still a small force which can hardly be said as yet to present an immediate threat to the security of the Federal Constitution. The gradual and unhindered growth in the inner body of major right-wing parties and ex-Nazis' organizations can, however, in future infect ever wider and deeper circles with the virus of rabid and uncompromising nationalism. The sponsors of this growth are ruthless realists, who, and in a position of power, would not hesitate to use it against the concept of European unity and Western Defence, should they consider it in their own interests to do so. The "Caulstran" Circle represents a conspiracy directed against the main purposes of the Allies in Germany since 1945, against the democratic and pro-Western policy of the Federal Government since its inception, and against the letter and spirit of the Bonn Agreements of 1952.

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